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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART VIII

"RESURGENT CHAUVINISM"

(25 Feb - 3 May 1935)
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Angus V. Rutledge

ANGUS V. RUTLEDGE
Major, Field Artillery
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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 165
(25 February 1935)

North China Omens

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the morning of the 16th, I called UCHIDA on the phone but there was nothing of great importance. MATSUDAIRA called me by phone and remarked: "In connection, first with the situation of the House of Peers there is a divergence of views in regard to the second reserve fund. However, looking at it from a broad standpoint, no matter what the arguments are, it will have to be passed in the end. There are also those who are raising quite a commotion over the question of the self-government of Formosa, but it is presumed that nothing will come of it."

SHIGEMITSU of the Foreign Ministry also telephoned me, saying: "I am sending KURIYAMA to you on the 18th to make a general business report on recent foreign policy."

I reported to the Prince and discussed various matters with him. When I mentioned that KURIYAMA was coming, he said: "I'll see KURIYAMA myself this time."

When I returned home, I again called the Foreign Ministry and informed Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU: "The Prince is saying that he himself will meet KURIYAMA this time, therefore, if there is any other business which the Minister has, please include it."

I had a sudden telephone call from IWAKURA on the 17th, to the effect that he was coming to see me, and when I consulted him regarding his convenience, he said: "I'd like to meet you at the Omoto Kan in Shizuoka."

Therefore, I talked to him at the Omoto Kan for two hours, from about 3:00 P.M. on. The essential points of the conversation were: "To have the budget go through the House of Peers as soon as possible, and that in order to make it possible for the Government to take a firm stand it was necessary for it to take a determined attitude in regard to the dissolution of the Diet, so that it could be carried out even at a moment's notice. There are also various activities going on in certain quarters of the Army and elsewhere, therefore the House of Peers must take due precautions. It is also proper that the House of Peers itself lead the way in the matter of taking thorough precautions against superstition -- pseudo-religion." As far as IWAKURA is concerned: "In the first place, as to the issue in connection with the self-government of Formosa, it seems as though they saw a cat and thought it was a tiger and raised a commotion over it. This should be thoroughly discussed with KURODA and others, and it is my desire to change the atmosphere in regard to the Formosan question even if it is only with the Koseikai. Luckily this problem arose after I had been to Formosa and spent two weeks looking over the situation. Therefore, it appears that everyone listened to my arguments. Moreover, I think that the activities of Baron HIRANUMA, who is now engaged in some king of a lateral movement as President of the Town and Village Mayors' Association, are contradictory to his position as Vice-President of the Privy Council, and are also unpermissible. The House of Peers should, therefore, give heed to these matters and, when circumstances permit, admonish the Government and let it carry

out matters resolutely."

That same morning, I appeared before the Prince but there was no matter of importance to discuss.

On the morning of the 18th KURIYAMA made his appearance and we reported together to the Prince's at 9:30. KURIYAMA himself made a report to the Prince on business matters in connection with foreign policy. He (KURIYAMA) first revealed the message which Ambassador MATSUDAIRA gave Secretary AKIYAMA of the Foreign Ministry, and also gave a general report of what had happened after the return of Representative YAMAMOTO. YAMAMOTO's personal opinion has not been ascertained. If he has an opinion, it is probably not feasible for him to announce it at present. KURIYAMA reported that his opinion on the question was that YAMAMOTO would express his views after he had carefully observed the situation within the Navy. After making numerous other reports, KURIYAMA left with me (HARADA) and he returned to Tokyo early in the afternoon.

In the evening INUKAI came to call on me. He spent the night and left after discussing various matters with me. Portions of INUKAI's conversation were as follows:

"In short, the Seiyukai is gradually getting into a sad state. There are indications that President SUZUKI's faction and a radical Navy faction might collaborate. If the next Cabinet to be organized is one which will thoroughly respect constitutional government, it must cooperate with the good members of the so-called SUZUKI faction. Otherwise they might become more desperate and take joint action with the Navy group."

KONOYE called me a few days ago on the telephone

and said: "Chief of Staff SUETSUGU came over to see me and said:'HAP DA has confided to the Prince that Admiral SUETSUGU is a man who wants to fight with America. In other words, that he is a person who delights in war. This is an outrageous story. It is not true. Admiral SUETSUGU is not a person who delights in war. His desire is that there will be no war. Therefore, please vindicate me.'" The foregoing was what he (SUETSUGU) requested." The reason why there might be some connection of the foregoing matter with INUKAI's story was brought about because I had said:"If you (Navy) and the SUZUKI faction are so anxious to collaborate, it is necessary that you first obtain the understanding of the Genro and senior statesmen that Admiral SUETSUGU is not in favor of war." Therefore, the repercussion evidently reached KONOYE and then was passed on to me. INUKAI also discussed various other matters and after spending the night returned home.

The following day I went to the Prince's residence and told him the above story, and then called Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU at the Foreign Ministry to inquire about the state of affairs there, but there was nothing of great importance. I thanked him (SHIGEMITSU) for dispatching KURIYAMA, and told him of the Prince's complete satisfaction.

On the morning of the 20th I had a telephone conversation with the Premier, but there was nothing new. He seemed in high spirits. I also spoke to UCHIDA, but he too did not have anything vital to say.

Chief of the Treaties Bureau KURIYAMA called me on the phone and stated: "In spite of the fact that the

special service facilities of the Kwantung Army in Manchukuo have been abolished, an economic section has been established. The House of Peers should boldly say to the Army: 'There is no sense in abolishing the special service activities and then establishing an economic section. Why have you organized an economic section?' In regard to this, it would not be feasible for Baron OKURA or for IWAKURA to meet with you, and as it is a delicate matter for us in the Foreign Office, there is nothing we can do but keep still. Therefore we would like the House of Peers to stress the point."

I called Baron IWAKURA and told him the above and he replied: "I spoke of abolishing the special service activities at the general budget meeting, therefore when Baron OKURA makes his inquiries in regard to Manchukuo, I'll have him include the matter in his interpellation."

On the 21st I conversed at length on the phone with KIDO, and according to him, it is said that there is a movement within the Army to have provision made to prevent the Emperor of Japan and the Manchukuo ruler from discussing some topics when they meet, as it would be inconvenient should they carry out direct negotiations, but I (KIDO) have made arrangements so that such a thing will not happen, and as a result everything is under control.

In regard to what the Prince has been concerned about for some time, he (the Prince) spoke to me saying: "Just when the peace policy is about ready to be established, the Army is questioning as to the disposition of North China. And should there be a plot to

instigate Manchukuo and to venture into Peiping, everything will be upset. I wonder if everything is all right regarding the matter." Therefore I spoke to KIDO about this and he too was quite concerned and said: 'The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was also uneasy over the matter, therefore he spoke directly with the Chief of the Bureau of Military Affairs, NAGATA, and his reply was: 'It is my intention to see that such a thing never happens, but there are two or three very rough characters out there (in the field), and as a result you don't know what they'll do next, but generally speaking I don't think that such a thing will happen.' (The foregoing) according to KIDO, was what NAGATA had to say.

On the morning of the 22nd, I spoke to UCHIDA by phone and he said: "Steps to bring out bills which have accumulated in the House of Peers will be finally made in the near future, so do not be too concerned."

When I phoned the Foreign Minister and told him what I had discussed with KIDO, he too, seemed conerned but remarked: "Anyway, I have spoken to the Minister of War and have forewarned him. Therefore...."

I reported to the Prince and after making a general report of the above, returned home.

According to Minister UCHIDA's conversation of the 23rd: "It seems as though the bills are being held back by OKADA, Tadahiko of the Seiyukai." When I spoke to KIDO, he also mentioned something to that effect. When I spoke to MATSUDAIRA, he suddenly said that he wanted to come and see me on the 24th (tomorrow). As there was nothing new, and as there was nothing of impor-

tance to report to the Prince even if I went there, I returned home.

On the 24th KIDO sent recent intelligence reports on the Police Bureau. The general contents were to the effect that: "With a very grim determination, the MAZAKI-ARAKI-HIRANUMA faction has begun a movement to gain political power. With what is called the Seigi-ha within the Army, i.e. the ARAKI-MAZAKI faction, and its opponent the Tosei-ha, in other words the KOISO-TATEKAWA-NAGATA faction, which advocates the maintaining of the regulations of the Army by avoiding rash political action, pitted against each other, one can definitely say that War Minister HAYASHI belongs to the Tosei-ha. There are evidences that even today the MAZAKI faction is actively engaged in a movement to oust HAYASHI. Moreover, the maneuver of AKITA and others was a movement to set up a cooperative Cabinet, with HIRANUMA as its head. HIRANUMA, as head of the Town and Villages Mayors' Association, has taken a flanking position, and it appears as though he were taking united action, centered around agrarian problems, with those quarters." The foregoing was written in great detail.

I then brought them (the reports) to the Prince and spoke to him about them. I left the reports in his care and returned home. KIDO stated that he would like to have the reports returned as soon as the Prince was through with them as he wanted to show them to the Grand Chamberlain and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. It happened that Marquis MATSUDAIRA was coming to visit me, therefore I informed him (KIDO) that I'd return the reports by him.

MATSUDAIRA came over on the eve of the 24th, and we talked over various matters. On the 25th, I accompanied MATSUDAIRA to the residence of the Prince, and he met the Prince for the first time. MATSUDAIRA's conversation was in general, very brief: "In spite of the fact that the Seiyukai has hold of the emergency profits tax, it tried to oppress the Government, but since the Party has become conscious of the firm determination of the Government, it is beginning to give way," was the gist of the Premier's story. Moreover, according to the verbal message of the Premier: "(The Government) will get into deep water if an agreement (in connection with disarmament) cannot be reached after Representative YAMAMOTO returns, and should a race for armament begin. Therefore the Navy is beginning to consider matters very gravely and feelings have become mutual in regard to prevehting an armament race. In general, things are turning for the better. Furthermore, the China situation on the whole is also taking a favorable turn. In the main, the foreign policy (of Japan) has turned toward a favorable direction." The foregoing was the Premier's message.

I reported to the Prince the telephone conversation I had early that morning with the Minister of Justice, and the contents of a telegram which was sent by TAKUNO, Tadao. Moreover, I told the Minister of Justice that: 'I would like to have full cooperation in connection with the movement of the rightist faction of the Army.' The Minister of Justice also knew of the movement to oust the President of the Privy Council. TAKUNO's wireless message read in part: "ICHIKI, Presi-

dent of the Privy Council, a scholar of the Constitution, is advocating Emperor-Organ theory. He possesses a theory which is against the national Constitution. It is disgraceful to keep such a man in a vital position as President of the Privy Council." The Minister of Justice remarked: "This is like killing two birds with one stone. It's their plan to bring disgrace on the name of the President of the Privy Council, and when his seat becomes vacant, to place Baron HIRANUMA at the head. Therefore, we must be very careful, and no matter how imperceptibly, we must do our utmost (in preventing this from happening.) I persisted to the Minister of Justice: "Those who tread the straight and narrow path, because they are mutually righteous, usually do not have many connections, whereas the irrational, i.e. those who are unrighteous, get inflexible results. As a result, there are cases when those who are not righteous in their dealings achieve their goal. It is necessary to have an appropriate number of connections, not only among the present Cabinet members, but also among members of the former Cabinet, or still better, among the intellectual members of the House of Peers who also tread the straight and narrow path, and in this way to make adequate preparations. (To the foregoing), the Minister of Justice assented and said: "I'll do as much as I can, but since my connections are very poor, it will not be easy."

The foregoing was MATSUDAIRA's report to the Prince and after he was through both of us returned home.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 166
(3 April 1935)

Minobe-Ichiki Theory

Translated by Miss Chito Iwonaga

On the morning of the 26th I appeared before the Prince and discussed Dr. MINOBE's lecture and its effect: "The movement of the rightists to deliberately incite the military into one thing or another bears watching. Men of intelligence seem to understand very well, but there are organizations of a rightist nature such as the Shinsc, as well as those who have strongly criticized the Emperor-Organ theory, who are reproaching Dr. MINOBE. Therefore the intellectuals are, on the contrary, maintaining silence, and are taking a laissez-faire attitude. In the beginning I did not pay much attention, but as I mentioned before, Dr. MINOBE is the scapegoat and the main purpose is to denounce ICHIKI, President of the Privy Council."

In the midst of discussing the foregoing matter with the Prince, I telephoned FUJINUMA, former Chief of the Metropolitan Police and told him that HASHIMOTO, former Chief of Detectives, who was recently appointed Chief of Police of Shizuoka Prefecture, had mentioned to me that at first, he, HASHIMOTO looked upon General MAZAKI's activity with a severe attitude but recently, after coming into contact with him, he has begun to be favorable inclined. To this, FUJINUMA replied: "Nevertheless, I don't think HASHIMOTO's attitude has changed."

On the eve of the 27th, I had a phone call from the Chief of the Metropolitan Police to the effect that at the time that the wireless message from TAKUNO to

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the Prince was dispatched, the resume of the contents was duly reported by TAKUNO himself to the Metropolitan Police. Therefore it was not necessary for me to report; "Such a wire was sent", for the Metropolitan Police were already informed. The Chief of the Metropolitan Police further stated: "The Metropolitan Police will continue to take precautions and, depending on the circumstances, will take necessary action." He also fully recognized the fact that the purpose of raising the MINOBE issue was to denounce ICHIKI. At noon of the 27th, the Governor of Shizuoka came to see me at my residence and we talked over the general political situation and he stated: "From the very beginning of my term I have resolved to do my utmost for the prefecture of Shizuoka." So saying, he took his leave.

I spoke on the phone with the Foreign Minister and discussed various matters with him, and he said: "The negotiation in regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway is progressing very smoothly..." He further stated that: "Railway Minister UCHIDA promised that he would not use the profits tax as Mokuteki-zei. Moreover, both the Minseito and the Seiyukai were in favor of the rice bill."

On the morning of the 28th I reported to the Prince and gave him the details of the conversations I had with the Foreign Minister and the Railway Minister. Moreover I phoned KURIYAMA, Chief of the Treaties Bureau, from the home of the Prince, and inquired about the China situation after which I returned home.

As Prince KONOYE was arriving at noon from Tokyo, I went to meet him at the Railway Station and returned

with him to Okitsu. After having lunch together, we talked for two hours and (KONOYE) said: "The situation within the military is very complicated, therefore I do not know what the outcome will be." He (KONOYE) also said: "Government affairs must be carried out with a new spirit of leadership."

We (KONOYE and HARADA) met with the Prince at 2:00 o'clock and spoke with him for more than two hours, after which Prince KONOYE again returned with me. KONOYE remarked: "Today I spoke very daringly and said everything which was on my mind." He (KONOYE) was also slightly concerned as to whether or not he had given offence to the Prince. He left for Tokyo in the evening after relaxing for about three hours at my home.

Prince KONOYE seemed to be bothered about what the Prince's(SAIONJI's) friends were saying in connection with the frequent visits of MATSUDAIRA to the Prince's home, and he spoke of the matter to the old Prince when he met him. To this, the Prince answered: "I don't mind one bit what people say, therefore continue to send him as often as you like." As a result KONOYE seemed very relieved.

As usual, on March 1st I called UCHIDA on the telephone and inquired about the situation in connection with the political parties, but there was no change. In the meantime KURIYAMA, Chief of the Treaties Bureau, phoned and said: "Due to a dispute in connection with the terminology of the treaty at the Japan-Holland Trade Conference which is being held in Kobe, the deliberation between the civilians and the steamship company,

which is the basis of the Japan-Holland Treaty is being strongly opposed by ISHIHARA; therefore there are indications that it may not be concluded. So I would like very much to have KONOYE or others reason with ISHIHARA in order that this treaty may be agreed upon." To this I answered saying: "It might be better to get the opinion of the Foreign Minister, and to have KURIYAMA personally meet Prince KONOYE and discuss the matter with him.

IWAKURA also phoned and reported: "The Koseikai as an organization will not take any action in regard to the MINOBE issue. The newspapers have published varied comments on the matter, therefore, be careful not to be misled by them." I spoke of the above matter in general when I went to the Prince's residence.

On the 2nd, I received a phone call from the Chief of the Metropolitan Police, and he said: "The campaign outside the Diet might expand. It has become gradually evident that the sole purpose back of it is the denunciation of ICHIKI.

On the 3rd I spoke on the phone with the Premier, and he as usual said: "I guess that nothing serious will come of it." Nevertheless, I told him: "Strict supervision of the rightists must be enforced. Moreover, if there is any proof that Baron HIRANUMA, Vice-President of the Privy Council, is tacitly directing them, it is an unpardonable act, therefore we could deal with him resolutely." Furthermore, the Premier repeatedly stated: "At least, something might be done about the Diet's budget", and concluded: "There is nothing to worry about." I told the essential points of the above to the Prince.

I left Shizuoka on the Tsubame (Express) of the 3rd for Kyoto and discussed various matters with Lt. General SHIBUYA, and first of all he said: 'The Prince Woo is the Divisional Commander of Osaka, is studying very earnestly, nevertheless I feel that should there be a good opportunity it would be wiser to have him transferred before long. The shake-up of the military in March has been proven to be generally favorable. Of course, in certain cases, MAZAKI's wishes were considered to a great extent, i.e. the transfer of the Commander of the Kempei-tai, and the appointment of IMAI as Chief of the Bureau of Personnel. It was also MAZAKI's hope to have the former Chief of the Bureau of Personnel left in Tokyo as Commandant of the Infantry School. KOBATA was selected as Superintendent of the Army War College. This was ARAKI's request therefore, OKAMURA was chosen as Chief of 2nd Section. I also think that it was a good idea to send ISOGAI to China. Moreover, there is quite a bit of discontent among the military toward the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The reason for this, according to what people say, is the fact that he emphasized peace but on the other hand ignored national defense and is constantly restraining the War and Navy Ministers at Cabinet meetings.' In connection with UGAKI, they (the military) are disseminating: 'UGAKI betrayed the Army and gained a position.' Therefore, I feel that it is still a little dangerous to select UGAKI as head of the succeeding Cabinet."

On the 5th, I met Prince HIGASHI-KUNI in Osaka and spoke to him for two hours, and he too mentioned the

same thing Lt. General SHIBUYA had told me. But the Prince himself seemed very self-possessed.

For the next four or five days I went to various places to recuperate and returned again to Okitsu on the 9th. Upon my return I spoke to the Premier by phone, but there was nothing of importance. I also conversed with the Minister of Justice on the phone but he told me that there was no change in the situation.

The Railway Minister said: "YAMAMOTO, Teijiro is persistently trying to use the MINOBE issue as a means of getting the House of Representatives to cooperate, but this can never be done."

On the 11th I went to Tokyo and met the Premier, Minister of Justice and the Railway Minister, UCHIDA. Moreover, I went to the Ministry of Home Affairs, but as the Director of the Police Bureau was not in, I spoke to the Police and Public Safety Section Chief, and he too seemed quite concerned over the situation in the Army and is maintaining close contact.

On the 12th, the Minister of Home Affairs came over to my home and warned: "The movements of the rightists must be carefully observed." He (Minister of Home Affairs) spoke also of the very harmonious relations between MAJIMA, Minister of Commerce and Industry, and Finance Minister TAKAHASHI. Moreover, the Minister of Home Affairs stated that the Chief of the Bureau of Metropolitan Police had remarked repeatedly: "The MINOBE issue cannot be considered lightly as it involves both ICHIKI and MAKINO, and as a result it was very difficult to anticipate future developments. Anyway, the movement of the rightists involves money, therefore,

if funds are not available, it might soon cease. Count TANAKA, Koken also came to see me (Home Minister) and returned home after stating: 'I am not cooperating with the leader of the National Reconstruction Movement.'"

Colonel SUZUKI came to see me and reported: "The reason for the great ill-feeling against HIROTA is the fact that Ambassador OTA went to the General Staff Headquarters and the Naval General Staff, and emphasized repeatedly that there is no intention of fighting Russia." I calculated that this could be possible, as SUZUKI had told me that the source of the National Reconstruction Movement was the younger group of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and that it seemed they had contact with the younger faction of the military. Putting all of these things together, I realized that the cause of unnecessary worry on the part of the Minister of Home Affairs was the activities of certain of his subordinates.

I also met KIDO, and according to him: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal has some intention of resigning. Therefore he is asking: 'Shall I go and see the Prince after the present Diet is adjourned?' But, he (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) asked that this be kept in absolute secret."

Railway Minister UCHIDA remarked: "When I met Finance Minister TAKAHASHI a few days ago, he disclosed: 'I'd like to take leave from my position as soon as the Diet is adjourned. From the very beginning the Premier has begged me to stay on at least until the end of the regular session of the Diet. Anyway, after the Diet is adjourned, I would like to rest.' This came as a great surprise to me (Railway Minister), therefore I

went to the Premier and notified him. Thereupon the Premier immediately told TAKAHASHI: 'To tell you the truth, when I first made the request, I was convinced that I could never get you to attend the Diet, therefore, I begged you to remain until the end of the regular session, but of course I would like very much to have you remain in office as long as this Cabinet continues. Moreover, should the Cabinet collapse, by any chance, I might have to ask you alone to continue in office. Therefore I have already appointed you as Vice-President of the National Policy Deliberation Council which is about to be established." Finance Minister was quite pleased about this matter and decided to remain.

On the 13th, I met the Premier and he said: "The rightists have become powerful, and one cannot say what may happen, but I presume that the peace regulation bill, and a certain measure for the purpose of controlling the rightist organizations will be passed." In regard to the above-mentioned story regarding Finance Minister TAKAHASHI, the Premier stated: "He has altered his plans to resign and has decided to remain in the Cabinet. As for the profits tax, it is believed that it might be brought before the joint conference of the Diet, but it will be enacted in the end. It is the general wish of the House of Representatives to have a bill, independent of the regular budget, introduced for expenditure in connection with the welcoming of the Manchukuo Ruler. If necessary, this might be carried out."

On the same day I went to call on former Premier SAITO at his home. As I had not seen him for a long

time, I spoke directly with him on various matters, but as he had no direct contact with the Government, it seemed that he had wind of no general observation concerning the Government. Therefore I told him: "I shall have the Chief of the Metropolitan Police or the Director of the Police Bureau call on you. Moreover, at a time like this, it will be inconvenient to have such fellows as HIRANUMA take office. No matter what is said, UGAKI must be prudent. The newspapers say that UGAKI is quitting and going to a foreign country, but it is better that he does not carry this out. It is preferable that he remain quietly as Governor-General of Korea." I found out for the first time of his (Viscount SAITO's) good-will and sympathy for Governor-General UGAKI, therefore I remarked: "There have been people advertising the fact that you had much ill-feeling toward UGAKI, but that was a wrong observation." To this, he (SAITO) answered: "No, I never have had ill-feeling or malice toward UGAKI. In fact, I have compassion and good-will for him (UGAKI). Viscount SAITO inquired after the Prince's health and told me: "Remember me to him."

In the afternoon I met Railway Minister UCHIDA and he told me: "It is my intention to form a new party by uniting the old Seiyukai and the Minseito, selecting Finance Minister TAKAHASHI as the first President, and including also TOKONAMI and MACHIDA in it." I also met the Minister of Foreign Affairs and told him of various matters which Colonel SUZUKI had mentioned regarding the Foreign Minister, but I found that Colonel SUZUKI's stories were pure fabrications, and it dawned on me that

he had been wheedled into some sort of propaganda.

The Foreign Minister told me: "The Chinese Eastern Railway issue will be placed before the investigation committee which convenes on the 14th, and will be passed on to the plenary session on the 20th. As for the China finance question, it is in a hopeless state at present, therefore, it seems that China is asking for advice from various quarters on this matter. However, it is taken for granted that England, America and Japan will not participate in this. I wonder if China will resort to changing her currency system. In the future China will consult Japan, therefore should Britain and the United States bring about negotiations, she would like to have Japan participate. Moreover, the British Ambassador was notified that Japan would like to have the Disarmament Conference held as soon as possible, and he in turn notified his Government; therefore an answer to the following effect arrived: 'Would like all ships built after 1935 accounted for. As it concerns five countries, the various European countries will be consulted. In short, the accounting will be done voluntarily but the ratio will not be mentioned.' The above story in regard to military disarmament is being kept a complete secret. Therefore, bearing that in mind, do not mention it to persons other than the Prince (SAIONJI)."

On the 14th, I discussed various matters with NAGATA, Chief of the Bureau of Military Affairs, and he stated: "The Army is taking precautions against machinations and has forbidden (its personnel) to make political capital or to raise any commotion by combining with

other forces; nevertheless, to a certain extent, it is necessary for the Minister of War to make a strong statement to the Cabinet in regard to the MINOBE issue in order to restore order. But of course it won't go to the extent of conflicting with the control of the Cabinet." I met Railway Minister UCHIDA and he said: "The resolutions of the House of Peers will not affect the national Constitution. Moreover, the members of the House of Peers have agreed to prevent it from developing further into a political problem."

I also met the Chief of the Metropolitan Police but there didn't seem to be anything new. Later, I met the Premier and he remarked: "It is still indefinite, but the session might be prolonged a little. Upon the investigation made by the Justice Department, the Minister of Justice stated: 'Regarding the Dr. MINOBE issue, there is a statement in Article 4 of the Constitution which explains Imperial Edicts to the effect that an Imperial Edict could be commented upon. This sounds very improper.' In connection with the military issue, NANGO, Jiro and Admiral TAKESHITA came to see me on the 13th and said: 'The MAZAKI faction is a very sincere organ and, in short, it is UGAKI and KUHARA who are Fascists. The recent issue in the Military Academy was an intrigue of General MINAMI. There is also a dispute within the General Staff Headquarters regarding this matter.' There has been a persistent rumor that Viscount KANEKO was responsible for writing the draft proposal in connection with YAMAMOTO, Teijiro's discourse on the Constitution. As for the supplementary budget, the relief fund for the Tohoku District (Northeastern Honshu) has been included;

therefore, it is thought that the House of Representatives will not veto it. As for the House of Peers, the 2nd Reserve Fund is the only thing that is bothering me."

As I was leaving for Okitsu on that day, I said my farewell to the Premier before I left, but I met KIDO after that and he remarked: "I think that it is wiser for the House of Peers to cancel the motion in regard to Dr. MINORE." In connection with his (KIDO's) personal problem he said: "I have been receiving many complaints to the effect that it is not a good idea for me to hold two positions -- President of the Bureau of the Peerage and Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and it has been bothering me."

The Chief Secretary of the House of Representatives came to see me and said: "Speaker HAMADA of the House of Representatives would like very much to call on the Prince while the Diet is still in session." Therefore I replied: "If there is no hurry, I feel that it would be more convenient for the Prince if he (Speaker HAMADA) would wait until the Diet adjourned." The Chief Secretary remarked that he would deliver the answer to the Speaker of the House.

I returned home to Okitsu on the evening of the 14th. I met the Prince on the morning of the 15th and gave him the foregoing general report of what took place during my stay in Tokyo. In connection with the visit of the Speaker of the House, the Prince said: "It would be better to have him call after the Diet adjourns."

On the 17th, Baron IWAKURA called me on the phone

and stated: "I met the Minister of War, and he has taken a very uncompromising attitude in connection with the Dr. MINOBE issue and remarked: 'I (Minister of War) shall advise the Government regarding this,' and: 'The Navy Minister is resigning from his post as a result of this.' However, in an effort to corner the Minister of War, there is someone who has been reporting this and that to the newspapers and as for the Minister of War himself, he clearly stated: 'There is no such thing.'" The foregoing was according to Baron IWAKURA. "As for the motion of the House of Peers, it was my (Baron IWAKURA's) desire to have the uncompromising faction consider this from the standpoint of the majority but they (uncompromising faction) did not agree. They said it was their intention to 'advance head-on'. To do this, it is necessary to have thirty supporters but they will probably not be able to get this many."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 167
(3 April 1935)

German Overtures Begin

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the 17th I moved to Oiso, planning to commute to Tokyo on alternate days and to report to Okitsu once in five or six days as formerly. I had a doctor diagnose my condition and he told me that I had almost completely regained my health but to be careful for another year. Therefore I talked over this matter with the Prince and decided to do as the doctor ordered.

On March 17, the morning I was to leave for Tokyo, I met the Prince and he handed me, as a gift for my newly-built villa at Oiso, Field-Marshal YAMAGATA's poem on Oiso, which he had written beautifully on a box.

As I was ready to make my leave, the Prince came to the front door with me and said: "I have been told in private that there is a group which is invoking the aid of KONOYE. I am quite sure that KONOYE will not participate in such a movement, nevertheless, I would like to have you warn him."

Upon my arrival in Tokyo, therefore, I immediately met KONOYE. I told him: "The Prince seemed quite concerned over the fact that you might be having your leg pulled. Is everything all right with you?" To this, he (KONOYE) answered: "There is absolutely nothing of that sort. I feel secure, therefore please tell the Prince not to be concerned when you see him again." On the 20th, KONOYE came to my home and stated: "NAKAGAWA, Kojuro came to see me and said: 'This time

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the old Prince (SAIONJI) listened very gravely to what I had to say when I told him: 'There is a strong movement to invoke your aid on the part of the young military group.' To this the Prince (SAIONJI) retorted: 'They say it is a cooperative Cabinet, but one cannot necessarily say that KONOYE is cooperative. On the other hand, to be used as a tool, is another policy.' The foregoing is what NAKAGAWA told me but I (KONOYE) absolutely refuse to be used as a tool. I shall never be deceived from now on, therefore please assure the Prince that I desire very much to set his mind at rest."

I met the Premier at the Diet Building and he said: "It was requested that, if possible, the MINOBE issue be settled spontaneously, therefore I requested this of Dr. MINOBE's brother, MINOBE, Shunkichi. Furthermore, this issue might, in the main, run its course." So saying, (the Premier) had a very optimistic attitude as usual.

I met KURIYAMA at the Foreign Ministry and he remarked: "The Ethiopian-Italian Incident has become an issue." We discussed Hitler's declaration; the Britain-China problem; and the Privy Council vs. The Chinese Eastern Railway Treaty. KURIYAMA also stated: "In regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway issue, it is said to be moving favorably."

On the 21st, I met UCHIDA, Minister of Railways and he remarked: "The profits tax bill and the rice bill are in all probability secure but the National Policy Deliberation Council is very difficult to get agreement upon."

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I also met the Premier and he stated: "I intend to have the arguments of the Ministry of Justice and that of the Ministry of Home Affairs consolidated and then give the matter careful consideration. Dr. MINOBE has commented: 'I cannot deviate from my theory, but should there be any improper phrasing, I shall be glad to make changes.'" The Premier further stated: "The bill for the establishment of the National Policy Deliberation Council might pass." As for the military situation, he said: "The Army and Navy will become more or less reconciled, and it seems that they are patiently waiting for the Government to make some sort of a move. Moreover, the Diet session might be prolonged for two or three days, but after the adjournment of the Diet, the Seiyukai is scheduled to hold its election of officers, so a state of dissension will again prevail. Seeing that they cannot hold the reins of power, it seems that TOKONAMI and MACHIDA are doing one thing or another and mutually consoling each other. There is also a rumor that, due to the fact that thirty years ago, MAKINO, the present Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, also advocated an Emperor-Organ theory in connection with some issue, it is intended to take legal proceedings against him for lese-majeste." The foregoing was according to the Premier.

I also saw the Foreign Minister and he was rejoicing over the possibility that: "The inquiry in regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway question might be completed on the 23rd."

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I left on the 21st for Okitsu, saw the Prince on the morning of the 22nd, and made a general report of developments since I last saw him. I then returned to Oiso on the same day.

On the 23rd, I phoned the Chief Secretary of the Privy Council and told him: "The newspapers are playing up the Emperor-Organ theory and the main purpose behind it seems to be the denunciation of ICHIKI, but what is the situation in the Privy Council?" To this he (Chief Secretary of the Privy Council) answered: "There is no corresponding atmosphere within the Privy Council. In fact, the position of the President of the Privy Council is so firm that the attitude of the members toward Vice-President HIRANUMA is not very favorable. Therefore, there is no cause to worry about the President of the Privy Council."

According to KIDO: "The Emperor-Organ theory did come up in the Privy Council about thirty years ago, but as the reaction was very sever, it was quelled within the Council. That story seems to have gotten into the hands of the public, and I am afraid that it is the doings of either Vice-President HIRANUMA or former Chief Secretary NIKAMI. In short, it is also with the purpose of denouncing ICHIKI." KIDO, on some business, met Councillor KUBOTA, and he expressed his good-will toward the present Cabinet and said: "OKADA's Cabinet is doing its work well." To KIDO he (KUBOTA) seemed to be most favorably disposed, for he remarked: "Of all the Chief Secretarys of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, you are the most capable; in other words, you are a fighter."

German Overtures Begin

I called on Finance Minister TAKAHASHI on the 24th and he said: "To me, the situation of the House of Representatives today is intolerable. By all means, they should dissolve the Diet and should reflect over matters."

On that very day a news reporter came to my home and said: "It is a fact that KUHARA has made and sent out from Osaka four or five drafts of 150,000 yen each. It seems that he is playing the stock market for at least 3,000,000 yen. These facts are known by all the influential business men of Osaka.

On the 24th I met the Premier and he told me: "The Seiyukai and the Minseito were greatly surprised at the atmosphere of the House of Peers and the determination of the Cabinet, and have gradually hastened their steps and proceeded to arrange for deliberation. I surmise that they will approve the supplementary budget as well as the bill in regard to the National Policy Deliberation Council."

On the evening of the 23rd I had a phone call from Prince CHICHIBU's administrative official, MAEDA, saying: "This is a request from the Prince: 'Please come to see me at your convenience, either on the morning or evening of the 24th.'" I reported to the palace at 10:00 a.m. on the 24th and the Prince inquired: "How is the present administration faring? Is it secure now? Please tell me the general situation." Therefore, as usual, I replied: "I do not think it is unstable, but when I speak of the situation of the Government today, it is with great regret that I have

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to report that the situation within the House of Representatives is intolerable. For example, in connection with the rice bill which was sponsored by most of the members of the Cabinet who belonged to the Seiyukai, the Minseito, regardless of the fact that it had once agreed to favor it, is opposing it today. And as for the Seiyukai, it is rejecting the fertilizer bill which was proposed by a Minseito member, Minister of Commerce and Industry MACHIDA. The political parties are hanging themselves with their own rope. In other words, they are mutually digging their own graves. On the other hand, the military is also split within itself, and while repudiating other political parties, it (military) has organized one of its own parties and is disputing within itself. Moreover, cooperating with outside, i.e. rightist organizations, which is forbidden, and instigated by them, it is doing things that are disturbing the public. As far as the political parties are concerned, if the judicial authorities could reveal clearly their authority, they could be handled, but the control of the military can never be managed by outside force. Should it (military) break the control and menace diplomatic relations or engage itself in activities, no matter how influential a politician we might have, he will not be able to handle the situation. Therefore, there are many times when I, upon observing the situation of the House of Representatives, become very indignant and think that it would be better to burn up everything --

both the building and the people within. Observing matters from the sidelines, Your Highness (Prince CHICHIBU) also must have observed how ineffectively matters are handled, and have opinions on the various lines of propaganda. Anyway, this is speaking very bluntly but it seems to me, as a matter of fact, that there is nothing that could be done to let straightforward politicians carry out what is righteous, and that as long as the situation is such, it is even difficult to have them tread a lawful path; yet since it is such an era, the least we can do is to have straightforward politicians carry on the work. At this time, I most humbly beg you (Prince CHICHIBU) as well as the rest of the Royalty to please observe this transition with patience and carefully refrain from being moved by outside influences to make any criticisms. There is a recently published small book entitled: "Emperor MEIJI and Constitutional Government". One can observe by reading the book the untiring efforts and opinions of Emperor MEIJI toward formulating the Constitution so that it will be the permanent standard of our Government. I will be very grateful if Your Highness will read it. I will present the book to you in a few days, therefore I beg you to read it. To this the Prince (CHICHIBU) replied: "I have not read it yet, but I shall do so without fail."

Moreover, the Prince stated: "Of course the most vital matter is to have the Army sever its relations with outside forces, but this is a very difficult problem. Thank you very much for sparing some time to see me."

After hearing these words, I bade farewell and returned home. I met the Premier on the 25th and he was saying: "Even if I prolong the Diet session, there is not much hope that it will not complicate matters all the more. Day before yesterday, I threatened the political parties, therefore it seems that the budget bill will be passed; also the profits tax will naturally be passed. If the above two go through, there are still the rice bill and the fertilizer bill to consider, but if they are not going to be passed, it is just as well that the Diet be adjourned today without prolongation or else that it be dissolved. Anyway, regardless of what we do, it is my intention to discuss the matter fully."

I also met the Minister of Justice at the Diet and inquired about the Dr. MINOBE issue, and he said: "I have been thinking of requesting the Public Procurator to revise the inadequate portions of the terminology with a calm attitude, so as to avoid exciting the Imperial University." Then I met the Minister of Home Affairs and he also seemed quite concerned over the MINOBE issue.

It was decided to adjourn the Diet on the 25th, and on the 26th, the closing ceremony of the Diet was held. At any rate, the supplementary budget bill as well as the profits tax bill were passed by the Diet. In short, of the 55 proposals, 44 passed in all aspects and 11 were held up. Especially, the rice bill, and practically all important measures dealing with industry, did not go through. This was due to the

fact that most of them were measures long under consideration which could not be settled momentarily.

On the 27th, I met the Premier and he remarked: "I tried to find an excuse to dissolve the Diet but couldn't. I was slightly concerned as to whether or not the present Minister of Home Affaire would be successful as director of the election and if I had selected GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, there would have been complaints from both the Minseito and the Seiyukai, thus making matters more unfavorable. Although success was very questionable, I had pretty strong arguments for dissolution. Yet, in the final analysis, the session was adjourned without dissolution or prolongation. As the rice bill introduced by YAMASAKI, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, did not pass the Diet, he might say: 'I will resign', but I have intentions of not letting him do so. Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, YAMASAKI himself, has remarked: 'At any rate, if I try once again, the rice bill will pass, therefore, I'd like to do something about it.' But I answered: 'To prolong the session of the Diet any further will be to the disadvantage of the Cabinet; moreover, if there were any indications that it would help matters to prolong the session, it would be all right, but as long as there is no hope, it is better to cut it short.'" Therefore (the Premier) did not petition the Emperor to prolong the session of the Diet.

Furthermore, I met and spoke with Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and he said: "To tell you the truth, I also

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would like very much to have the Diet dissolved in order to purge the accursed political world but my deep concern is whether or not the result would be as I calculate or not. Therefore, I finally decided to give in to the view of the others."

I next went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but as the Foreign Minister had not returned, I spoke to the Vice-Minister. Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU told me: "The British Trade Commissioner came and told me: 'The British Ambassador would like to meet General ARAKI. Therefore, I intend to have them meet at Hayama today.' I told the Trade Commissioner: 'Even if the British Ambassador meets General ARAKI, ARAKI does not necessarily represent Japan's present views, and it will not help matters to have him give a wrong impression by talking too much; therefore, please caution the British Ambassador on that point.' At any rate it seems that General ARAKI and the British Ambassador will meet at Hayama today."

In the meantime, the Minister of Foreign Affairs returned, therefore I spoke to him also and he stated: "According to the German Ambassador, due to the fact that Hitler made a declaration opposing the Versailles Treaty, there are indications that France has extended the term of military service and that Great Britain is increasing her Navy. Germany had submitted and pledged herself to the Versailles Treaty, the contents being: 'France will reduce her armament, so will Britain, therefore Germany will do likewise.' Upon observing the recent situation, it is seen to be exactly the opposite.

However, with all countries having such a preamble before them, Germany, which had been restricted in her armament, declared: 'After having seen the opposite phenomenon, we are of the opinion that we also should replenish our armament. Nevertheless, we (Germany) will not cross our borders. Therefore, there is no fear of our taking a provocative attitude.'" The foregoing was what the Foreign Minister had to say.

Furthermore, according to the Foreign Minister: "The above statement was announced to Britain, France, Italy, Poland and Japan, but not to the United States." The Foreign Minister also said: "There are flourishing rumors to the effect that there has been a secret treaty concluded between Japan and Germany, and it is most embarrassing." To this, the German Ambassador replied: "I shall be more discreet (in what I say) in the future. In connection with the question of colonies, under no circumstances will Germany question Japan's right to the Mandated Islands. In other words, it will not infringe upon Japan mandatory rule." The Foreign Minister continued: "Every means is being used to curb the anti-Japanese movement in China, but it has not been settled as yet. The anti-Japanese movement of the students of Seinan was instigated by one thing or another. The matter regarding a loan to China has not progressed at all." After hearing the above from the Foreign Minister, I left the Foreign Ministry.

INUKAI, Ken came to call on me at my home and said: "It is my desire that the Seiyukai tighten its solidarity henceforth, but it is quite essential that we change the

leader of the Party. President SUZUKI is hopeless. I spoke of this to HATOYAMA and made him understand that it should be kept a complete secret, but when I consider whom to select as party leader after making SUZUKI resign, there isn't anyone suitable. Therefore, you might not agree with me, but I have been thinking of OTANI, Sonyu as President. I inquired about the Minseito, and it seems very unsettled also. It appears that it cannot be subdued by President MATSUDA." INUKAI left after discussing various other subjects.

I left on the afternoon of the 27th for Okitsu and made a detailed report to the Prince and also discussed the Emperor-Organ theory with him. Then the Prince told me of the conversation he had with STEIN when he went to Europe to make a study of Constitutions:

"According to STEIN: 'A state is like a physical constitution. In other words, the Emperor is the head, and therefore, the chief executive.' STEIN isn't the only one who said the above for isn't there a Chinese saying to the effect: 'The head and limbs are functioning perfectly,' to describe the functioning of the state?"

On the 29th I returned to Tokyo and met the Premier, and he was saying: "As for the Dr. MINOBE issue, it would be all right for MINOBE, to clarify it. Otherwise it will have to be pushed into action by judicial power. The Army and Navy Ministers and the Minister of Justice are in consultation in regard to this, but it is definitely not a case of lese-majeste. It has to be based on defilement of national prestige. I presume that there'll be no difficulty as far as the

University is concerned, but even if it were a provincial university, this is not a matter of theory but of terminology. Therefore, it should not produce too much comment. The movement of the rightist organizations is also not too violent. The Seiyukai is saying that it won't participate in the National Policy Deliberation Council, but in reality it is very anxious to do so."

I was invited to dinner by the Minister of Home Affairs on the 30th but since I did not attend, the Minister came to visit me late that night and talked to me about the commotion Dr. MINOBE had caused. There was nothing new in what he had to tell me.

I called on the Premier on the 31st and he said: "At present Dr. MATSUMOTO is over at the home of Dr. MINOBE talking to him, but I do not know the outcome of the conversation yet. No matter what the result, I shall have Dr. MINOBE summoned by the Minister of Justice, and after having him consult with the Public Procurator, I intend to request him (MINOBE) to rectify the terminology. As far as the University is concerned, Dr. ONOZUKA has taken over and will try to control matters, therefore, everything will be all right. Of course, if possible, I (Premier) do not want to have the matter brought to trial (open court)."

The Premier continued: "UCHIDA is intently engaged in the movement to establish a new party but I calculate that it will not materialize. Regardless of that, unless I keep him busy, he bothers me, therefore, I am letting him do it but without doubt it won't take shape. In the autumn, both parties will begin their campaigns and if I say something at that

time, the matter can be handled. Moreover, I fear that a state of dissension will exist in the National Policy Deliberation Council. There is some dissatisfaction being voiced in regard to the Chief Secretary but it is only natural that a Chief Secretary be criticized from all directions.

I left for Okitsu on the evening of the 31st and after reporting the above to the Prince on the 1st, returned once again to Oiso.

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Chapter 168
(11 April 1935)

Minobe Impenitent

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On April 4th I went to Tokyo from Oiso, met the Premier, and said: "It will not be wise to have the disposition of the Emperor-Organ theory excite the various universities and cause a huge uproar. What do you think?" To this, the Premier answered: "NAGAYO, President of the Tokyo Imperial University, as well as Dr. ONOZUKA, former President, and also the President of the Kyoto Imperial University, have said: 'We are keeping close watch (over the reaction of the students) in the schools, therefore, everything will be all right.' The Justice Ministry is saying: 'MINOBE has violated the publication laws'; however Dr. HATSUMOTO has said that there has been no such violation. The Ministry of Justice expects to summon Dr. MINOBE within the next two or three days, to listen to his explanations for formality's sake, and after discussing the matter with him informally, to take appropriate action. It is my intention not to have it go as far as to indict him. Moreover, I sent for the Ministers of War and Navy, and talked over various matters with them, and both replied: 'We don't care whether the outcome will be a conflict with the law or not, but if he (Dr. MINOBE) is indicted, the atmosphere within the Army and Navy will clear considerably.'" The foregoing was what they said, according to the Premier.

On the evening of the 4th, together with TANI and KURIYAMA who had returned from Manchukuo, and availing

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myself of Lt. General SHIBUYA who was in Tokyo for a conference of divisional commanders, I had dinner with them. According to Lt. General SHIBUYA: "Generally speaking, there was nothing of much importance at the conference of divisional commanders, but there was some heated discussion in regard to the Emperor-Organ theory. He (SHIBUYA) also said: "This is top secret."

TANI very indignantly told Lt. General SHIBUYA: "Putting aside the Emperor-Organ theory, it is most improper for the Army to express its opinion on problems such as this. Anyway, the War Minister emphatically stated: 'There are persons who are using this issue (MINOBE) as a tool for political dispute and a plot to overthrow the Cabinet, therefore I do not want the Army to throw itself into the entanglement.'"

On the eve of the 5th, I called the Commanding Officer of the Formosan Army, TERAUCHI, by phone, and told him: "Please accept the outcome of the Emperor-Organ theory, which is the big issue of today. To have the military take any action regarding this matter is very dangerous. Moreover, it is undesirable to be instigated by groups who are doing it with base motives. Therefore, please be careful and see to it that nothing out of line happens." To the foregoing, TERAUCHI answered: "This problem is a very difficult one."

On the 6th, I went to Okitsu and made a general report of the situation during the last couple of days. I also made a report of what had to be rectified in connection with Finance Minister TAKAHASHI's personal opinion. The newspapers of the 7th disclosed the fact that the Public Procurator had summoned Dr. MINOBE to

the Hoso-Kyokai and had questioned him as well as conferred with him. Therefore, on the morning of the 8th, I called on the Minister of Justice at his official residence to hear what he had to say, and according to him: "Dr. MINOBE was saying that of course he meant the Imperial Edict, but it was that which dealt with the affairs of the state, especially administration, and did not present his (MINOBE's) own theory. Moreover, he refused to be compelled to resign from his public office, thereby making matters pretty difficult."

On the 9th, the disposition of Dr. MINOBE's case appeared in the newspapers, according to publication law. On the 10th, I met the Premier and he said: "What Dr. MINOBE means when he says he will print no more copies of the book is a different interpretation from that which is meant by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Justice. Therefore the Ministry of Education requested that the phrase be rectified upon consultation with the President of the University. The Ministry of Justice is saying: 'There would be no trouble should Dr. MINOBE express penitence,' but there is no sign of this. After the conference of the Privy Council, I had an audience with the Emperor, as there was a question which the Emperor had asked through his Grand Chamberlain. I answered: 'The works of scholars were, up to now, handled magnanimously according to the publishing laws. But when the contents are circulated in society, and they become an issue which is brought to the attention of society, and public opinion becomes severe, naturally, even a professional book will be read, therefore, the above action had to be taken out of

necessity.' In regard to His Majesty's inquiry regarding the National Policy Deliberation Council, I replied: 'Collateral resolutions in regard to the National Policy Deliberation Council have been made. They are: Personnel will be selected from all suitable walks of life; the organization of the Investigation Bureau will be brought up for consultation with the Deliberation Council. But I feel that the foregoing still requires some research. Moreover, as the election of members of the prefectural assemblies will be taking place in the near future, there might be rumors to the effect that the Cabinet will be overthrown or that it will collapse gradually, but I intend to handle this to the best of my ability.' This was what I related to the Emperor."

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Chapter 169
(19 April 1935)

Ichiki Wants to Resign

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the morning of the 12th, I met the Premier and he said: "I am having Finance Minister TAKAHASHI become Vice-President of the National Policy Deliberation Council, therefore I am on my way to make this request of him."

That same morning I had KONOYE, KIDO and MATSUDAIRA come over to my home and we had breakfast together. On the 11th KIDO paid a call on the Prince to report that ICHIKI, President of the Privy Council, requested to be relieved of his position due to ill health -- duodenal ulcer. Before he (KIDO) reported this matter, he came to me and related: "I was summoned by the President of the Privy Council, therefore I went to see him and he told me from his sick bed: 'I would like to resign at this time by all means. As I was recommended for this post by the Prince, I would like to have you convey my intentions to the Prince. I believe that it would be simplest should Vice-President HIRANUMA be promoted to my position.' Therefore I (KIDO) immediately mentioned this to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain and they agreed: 'That should ICHIKI resign as President of the Privy Council, it would be safest to have HIRANUMA promoted.'" As he (KIDO) told me that the above was the opinion, I told him: "When the former President of the Privy Council, KURATOMI, resigned, it was the untiring efforts of the Prince (SAIONJI) that made it possible for former

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Minister of the Imperial Household, ICHIKI, to become President of the Privy Council. Even before this circumstance came up, I thought that those who were close to the Emperor, as well as the President, Baron ICHIKI himself, understood the intention of the Prince and the fact that he (ICHIKI) can so easily make a request for the promotion of the Vice-President makes me very uneasy." To this, KIDO agreed and said: "Anyway, I'll go and see the Prince." He (KIDO) left on the evening of the 10th, and on the 11th met the Prince. His plans were to return on the 11th and meet with us on the 12th. On that morning (12th) KIDO told us all that had happened, at the breakfast table. When I questioned him further, it was just as I had expected and the Prince's opinion was: "In any case, why doesn't he retain his position until the Cabinet collapses."

(The foregoing was the gist of the answer the Prince made in connection with ICHIKI's resignation issue.) And the Prince continued: "If you ask me my opinion in regard to promoting HIRANUMA, I am absolutely opposed to it. But if the responsible person insists, I presume it cannot be helped."

KONOYE, who was there also, said very earnestly: "Actually, should HIRANUMA be promoted at this time, the reason why he wasn't promoted formerly will be completely overlooked. Therefore, should President ICHIKI absolutely decline to remain in office, there is nothing we can do but select KIYOURA or SAITO in his place." Nevertheless, on the morning of the 12th, KIDO started off to ICHIKI's home to deliver the answer of Prince SAIONJI.

Ichiki Wants to Resign

As I had some business to attend to, I returned to Oiso in the evening, and as I had made a previous arrangement to meet TERAUCHI, Commander of the Formosan Army, I dropped in at Count TERAUCHI's villa. According to General TERAUCHI: "The present Minister of War, HAYASHI, has the intention of making General MAZAKI resign in August. It appears that he (Minister of War) wants to liquidate the MAZAKI system to date. There is a movement now to have the Minister of War, HAYASHI, resign, when in the near future, his younger brother, former Tokyo City Deputy Mayor SHIRAKAMI, will receive his verdict in connection with the criminal case in which he was involved. Nevertheless, if Minister of War HAYASHI should resign, he will take the offensive against General MAZAKI, and both may resign. Under no circumstances will MAZAKI be the only one to remain in office." In connection with the question of self-government in Formosa, he (General TERAUCHI) took an extremely adverse view and said: "What has been granted once cannot be taken back again. That is why I was opposed to the recent Formosan proposal. Moreover, even if they should bring forward General UGAKI as head of the next Cabinet, I feel that it is still a little too early to bring this about, therefore, I consider it wiser to wait once again." The foregoing was Count TERAUCHI's view and he sounded as though he wanted to place General MINAMI at the head of the next Cabinet.

Upon reaching home late at night, there was a phone call from KIDO saying: "I delivered Prince SAIONJI's message to the President of the Privy Council and his reply was: 'I am very grateful over the gracious

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words of the Prince but as my health does not permit it, I would like definitely to resign. It isn't absolutely necessary that Baron HIRANUMA be promoted to take my place. Former Premier SAITO or Count KIYOURA will do.' So saying, it seemed that he had the intention of calling the Chief Secretary immediately, therefore I told him: 'Anyway, I will go and report your views to Prince SAIONJI tomorrow and will return on the 15th, so I beg of you not to mention anything to the Chief Secretary until the 15th.'" After saying this I called on Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu on the following morning and reported: "The answer of the Privy Council President, ICHIKI, is: 'By all means, I would like to resign.'"

To this the Prince remarked: "He being such a man, he will never take back what he once says, therefore, I am afraid that nothing can be done about it. As for his (ICHIKI's) successor, in all respects, promoting HIRANUMA is not very suitable, and because of this, I feel that SAITO, KIYOURA, or MAKINO or maybe KONOYE, will qualify in the long run. Nevertheless, this is a vital question and the public does not know anything about it; furthermore, it should not be announced yet. However, is it not wiser to notify former Premier SAITO, who submitted to the Throne, President of the Privy Council ICHIKI's name that: 'It is thus and so', and in this way give him a general idea of what is taking place?"

The foregoing was what the Prince said, i.e. he related the circumstances that had prevailed until the present time, and as for the Prince's views: "The promotion of HIRANUMA (to President of the Privy Council)

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is not a wise idea. Nevertheless, please let it be made known that this is not a persistent demand on my (Prince SAIONJI's) part." Therefore, I phoned MATSUDAIRA to notify the above to the Premier. When I spoke to former Premier SAITO by telephone in a code language he understood very clearly, and in the end, I made an engagement to go to Tokyo on the 15th to meet with the present Premier and the former Premier, SAITO.

According to the Prince's conversation at Okitsu: "It was not necessarily my intention to have the fact that I had mentioned the names of possible successors (as President of the Privy Council) disclosed to KIDO, but it seems that he has mentioned SAITO and KIYOURA's names to ICHIKI, President of the Privy Council." Then I said exactly what I thought to the Prince and also made reports of other matters to the Prince and he responded: "In the final analysis there is no other person but UGAKI to be selected as the next Premier. Moreover, UGAKI cannot be brought to the fore until after the OKADA Cabinet collapses."

On my way home that day I stopped over at Yugawara and rested all day Sunday, returning to Tokyo on the 15th. First of all, I visited the Premier and former Premier SAITO and delivered the Prince's message and heard the views of both: "Nevertheless, we would like to have President of the Privy Council ICHIKI submit with patience and continue in this present office." For instance, according to the Premier: "President of the Privy Council ICHIKI's condition is better than was expected, therefore, contrary to one's expectation, it might be perfectly all right for him to remain in

office. As for the Government, it would be very badly inconvenienced should he resign at this time."

Former Premier SAITO likewise said: "Under prevailing circumstances, should President of the Privy Council ICHIKI resign his post, the HIRANUMA faction will sing in triumph. To let them exult, even in fun, might result in a dispute which would be very unpleasant." Whereupon, both the Premier and Viscount SAITO stated: "To send someone from the Government would be very conspicuous. We really should go ourselves, but if we do, it might develop into an issue, therefore, we ask that you (HARADA) go." As they requested the foregoing, I discussed it with the Prince at Okitsu and he remarked: "Of course it is a lot of trouble for you, but I think that it is a good idea for you to go."

I reported the above to KIDO and later called at the home of ICHIKI, President of the Privy Council, in the afternoon and expressed the general views of the Prince himself as well as those of the Premier, and of former Premier SAITO. I further stated: "Even if it is against your will, it is our desire that you remain in office this time and look after your health at the same time. If you resign, it will create a stir in various quarters and it will result, on the contrary, in failure on your part to serve your country." I also reviewed what I had said on the previous occasion, but in spite of all, ICHIKI replied: "I am very sorry, but my health does not permit it, and furthermore, a few days ago I had an inquiry from His Majesty: 'What is the matter with ICHIKI?' Such being the circumstances,

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my conscience won't permit me to remain in such a vital position."

Therefore I answered: "In regard to the inquiry from His Majesty, you can have either the Premier or other high Court officials close to the Emperor notify His Majesty of your intentions of resigning from your post and your desire to be relieved from the responsibilities of public office and also tell him that the Premier: 'realizing his responsibility, is preventing you from resigning.' That is all you have to do. At a time like this, in spite of the fact that it might be inconvenient for you, and no matter what might be said, it is not such a problem. Therefore, excuse my interference but I would like very much to have you reconsider and continue in the present office." After I had expressed the sympathy of the Prince, ICHIKI answered: "As you all have been so kind in expressing these kind words, I shall reconsider the matter and give you an answer later." With this reply, I returned home. I then reported by phone the foregoing reply to the Premier, former Premier SAITO, Prince SAIONJI and KIDO.

On the 16th, I met Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and the Premier but there was nothing of importance discussed, except that the newspaper reporters who go to Baron HIRANUMA's residence were heard to have remarked: "Baron HIRANUMA is very self-complacent. Well, first of all: 'The recent issue, the Emperor-Organ theory, is progressing as I (HIRANUMA) expected. My heart is full regarding the recent visit of the Manchukuo Ruler. Those who opposed the establishment of Manchukuo by saying: 'It is improper', are now finding themselves

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in an embarrassing situation. Moreover, so far as seceding from the League of Nations and abrogating the Washington Armament Treaty go, until those actions were taken, we were afraid that if we seceded from the League of Nations an economic boycott would be put into effect, but once we had done so nothing special occurred. Everything in world events is progressing as I expected.'" The foregoing is what (Baron HIRANUMA) is telling the newspaper reporters with great confidence, according to what has been told me.

Luckily, due to the fact that the situation in various European countries and the United States was so complicated, they had no time to comment on Japan's action at the time. In other words, the chance Japan took when she seceded from the League of Nations worked to her advantage. As it was in actual fact a matter of sheer luck, what Baron HIRANUMA is saying today is not in the least accurate. Therefore I felt quite uneasy over the matter.

I rested at Oiso for one day on the 17th, and on the 18th, I invited the Minister of Home Affairs and the usual gang from the House of Peers over for breakfast at my Tokyo home and we discussed the National Policy Deliberation Council. There was nothing else of importance which was brought up and I returned on the evening of the 18th to Oiso.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 170
(3 May 1935)

Hirohito on Minobe

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

I went to Tokyo on the morning of the 20th and met the Premier. He said: "The organization of the National Policy Deliberation Council was determined at yesterday's Cabinet Council. However, there are appointment regulations for the Investigation Bureau, and the Privy Councilhas made arrangements for this. Therefore, a conference of senior statesmen will be held on the 22nd and I am thinking of settling definite problems there." The Premier continued: "The general aim, if we are to include the Seiyukai, is to include men such as the President, MOCHIZUKI, MAYEDA or YAMAMOTO, Jotaro. On the part of the Minseito, men such as KAWASAKI or SAKURAUCHI; from the Kokumin Domei, ADACHI; and from the senior statesmen, SAITO, YAMAMOTO and WAKATSUKI.

"In general, prefectural finance should be investigated and I would like to have it arranged so that prefectural finance can maintain itself. It is my intention to bring the matters of educational affairs, public finance and administrative affairs up at this investigation conference. I intend to appoint a military man as the secretary in order to build the foundation for cooperation with the military. It seems that the purpose behind the desire of Viscount SAITO to include men from the Army and the Navy who are opposed to the present administration in this National Policy Deliberation Council is to educate

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them. However, I think that it will be very difficult." When I was about to leave, the Premier added: "I heard recently that His Highness, the Fleet Admiral had told Minister OSUMI: 'If it is your idea to make Admiral KATO a Fleet Admiral, then it is a different matter: however, I cannot personally submit this matter to the Emperor.'"

I met the Foreign Minister later that day and he said: "HART came over and said that he desired that the shipping concerns be allowed to negotiate and to make the agreement a success in regard to the Netherlands East Indies. Therefore I want to advance the plan gradually along that line. It seems that Envoy ARIYOSHI desires to resign after his return, but since China does not desire a change, I intend to recommend that he continue in office. Since the times are such, I desire that he remain. Furthermore, the Russian Ambassador has come over and said: 'Russia has entered into various agreements with Czechoslovakia and France, but they are not military arrangements and I want this point understood.'"

I went to Okitsu on the 21st and returned after making a general report of the situation to the Prince. On the morning of the 23rd, I visited the Grand Chamberlain and we discussed the current situation. We spoke of the desire of the President of the Privy Council to resign because of illness, and also about the Emperor-Organ Theory.

The Prince (SAIONJI) had previously said to me: "I wonder whether the Grand Chamberlain is well informed

on the Emperor-Organ theory." Therefore I listened to the various opinions of the Grand Chamberlain and it seemed as if the Emperor was well informed on such matters. The Grand Chamberlain said: "This matter is strictly confidential but the Emperor said, 'It is still an understandable matter to argue whether the sovereign power is vested in the Emperor or the State, but it is a very silly business to argue whether the Emperor-Organ theory is good or bad. I personally believe that sovereignty of the State is better than sovereignty of the Emperor, but in the case of a nation such as Japan where the State and the Emperor are the same, either would be excellent. Sovereignty of the Emperor is apt to fall into despotism. If a great scholar should come out with a theory of the sovereignty of the Emperor compatible with a monarchical organ, this would tend to work against the tendency of falling into despotism and that would be very fine. Quite a bit is being said about MINOBE, but I believe that MINOBE is not being disloyal. Just how many men of MINOBE's caliber are there in Japan today? It is a pity to consign such a scholar to oblivion.'"

"Furthermore, the Emperor told the Chief Aide-de-camp: 'It is very contradictory for the Army to slander the Emperor-Organ theory. Within the Imperial Rescript for Soldiers, there are words to the effect of: 'I am your leader', and in Article III of the Imperial Constitution, there are words to the effect of: 'the Emperor is the sovereign of the nation.' This shows that he is nothing but an organ.' The Emperor also said: 'MINOBE might have gone a little

far in his writings, but I do not think that it was bad.'"

I was deeply impressed by the far-sightedness of the Emperor. I was quite chagrined at the fact that the present situation did not go along with the will of the Emperor and thought that it was an unpardonable thing against His Majesty. I spoke of my conjectures as to the opinion of the Prince concerning the matter of the promotion of HIRANUMA with the Grand Chamberlain. He understood my points well and was of the same opinion.

On my return, I stopped in at the official residence of the Imperial Household Minister and spoke of the same matters as those which I had mentioned to the Grand Chamberlain. The Imperial Household Minister comprehended matters very well and said: "It seems that President ICHIKI of the Privy Council has reversed his intention to resign. I think that everything in general is fine. There have been no replies to me."

I again met the Premier in the afternoon of the 23rd and he said: "Finance Minister TAKAHASHI strongly desires that BABA, Eiichi be appointed the Chairman of the Investigation Bureau. TAKAHASHI has also said: 'I desire also to prepare BABA as my successor as the foremost financial expert. It must be BABA.' I am thinking of looking into this matter but just how would that be?"

Therefore I replied: "BABA has come over once or twice during my absence and he has been calling me, saying

that he would like to meet me. Therefore, since this would be an excellent opportunity, I think that I will meet him. It has already appeared in newspapers and elsewhere that the administration has already selected BABA and I mean to inquire into this matter."

I had dinner with BABA at the Kuwana on the 24th and we discussed various matters. BABA said: "I don't think that I can become the Chairman of the National Policy Deliberation Council's Investigation Bureau. I served previously in the deliberation council for the readjustment of administration at the time of the TANAKA Cabinet and it was very difficult. The other members just argued and nothing concrete was done. Such committees are very difficult things and I think that this one will also end in failure.

"If you are going to include me, then include me as an ordinary member and not as the Chairman of the Investigation Bureau and have a partner for me, say, someone like MATSUMOTO, Joji. Then I could sit in formally as a member of the committee and at the same time I could act as a conferee with the Chairman of the Investigation Bureau. With a partner I could probably do such things so as to facilitate coordination and to have matters progress, but I would be sorely troubled if I were made the Chairman of the Investigation Bureau."

We spoke of the current situation and BABA told me: "If you meet the Premier, please tell him what I have told you today." I then told BABA: "I have not told the Premier that I was to meet you today, but if I should see him, I shall explain matters to him."

I visited the Premier that evening and when I told him that BAR probably would not accept, the Premier was very disappointed. I met MATSUDAIRA on the 26th and he said: "Chief Secretary FUKUDA has told me: 'Invent some sort of an excuse with YAMAMOTO, Jotaro. Then he will participate in the National Policy Deliberation Council and probably do what he can.' This excuse seems to be the problem of the reorganization of the Cabinet. There is no hope for such a thing at the present time. Furthermore, it was said that a new party should be organized now and the reply was that such a thing was impossible at the present time."

I went to Okitsu on the 28th and reported on the results of my talks with the Grand Chamberlain and the Imperial Household Minister and also the story of the Emperor. I also reported that several articles had appeared on the rejection of the Emperor-Organ theory which seemed like the decision of the Imperial Reservists' Association. On this matter, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau had said: "It is not the opinion of the Army. Those are things put out by the Imperial Reservists' Association as a pamphlet from contributions of a certain officer which appeared in a magazine of the Army Club, and the Army has no connection with it."

I returned after reporting this matter and also the latest developments regarding the National Policy Deliberation Council. I utilized my vacation and went to Karuizawa for two or three days from the 28th on. I also went to Nagano with Prince KONOYE and re-

turned to Tokyo on the morning of the 2nd.

I met the Premier on the afternoon of the 2nd after the conference of senior statesmen and he said: "BABA was summoned here at 2:30 p.m. and TAKAHASHI and I urged him strongly. TAKAHASHI recommended in a very commanding manner that BABA accept the post of Chairman of the Investigation Bureau. There was also your story, but since everyone insisted that there was no other person that BABA, we brought him around. He said that he would think the matter over and just went home a little while ago."

"In the end, AOKI was taken from the Kenkyukai; SAITO, YAMAMOTO and WAKATSUKI from the senior statesmen; if the Seiyukai was to participate, YAMAMOTO, MAYEDA and MOCHIZUKI; and two more from the Minseito. From the Kokumin Domei, ADACHI; and since it is the desire of TOKONAMI to have MIZUNO, Rentaro, I intend to include IKEDA, Seihin and KAGAMI, Kenkichi. The story is that KURODA of the Koseikai is to be included but it is not known yet whether or not MIZUNO will accept.

The Premier concluded: "There is not much time to consult the Prince and I would like to visit him on the morning of the 5th. Will you please ask if that would be all right." Therefore, I immediately called Okitsu and the reply was that it would be all right so I gave this reply to the Premier immediately.

On my return, I met the Minister of Commerce and Industry. I had read in the newspapers that the Seiyukai and the Minseito would meet with the leaders of the Army and the Navy and talk matters over. Therefore, I went

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to find out with what motive the political parties would meet the military. Minister MACHIDA said: "There is nothing special. It is to be with very light meaning and for cooperation with each other for the sake of the nation." At any rate, KUHARA is involved and I believe that there are various objectives and dishonest motives behind it all. I am being very careful on this matter but there is nothing very definite as yet.

Minister MACHIDA continued: "We should not only approach KUHARA and be on friendly terms with him, but also with the man in financial circles, so that in case of an emergency there will be a full understanding." It also seemed as if Minister MACHIDA was not very much in favor of including Rentaro MIZUNO in the National Policy Deliberation Council.

I visited the Minister of Home Affairs and returned to Oiso after speaking with him for a short while. I called BABA early in the morning of the 3rd to find out any subsequent developments and he said: "No matter how I look at it, the basic problem is different, and I cannot possibly accept the position of the Chairman of the Investigation Bureau. I spoke with Count SAKAI last night and the Kenkyukai dislikes letting me go. It also seems as if the Government is trying to persuade AOKI, Noburitsu but that he does not wish to accept. The present secretary should hold the post of Chairman concurrently, and I shall also help if I must. However, the Chairman of the Investigation Bureau must be a person who would do TAKAHASHI's bidding. Please tell the Premier this. I will speak

with Railways Minister UCHIDA. If I meet him it will be too conspicuous, so I shall decline by letter this morning."

I then told BABA: "Just because you would not accept, the National Policy Deliberation Council could not be set up and I would like to ask you to exert your efforts so that there will be no changes in the Cabinet." However, BABA positively refused to accept, so I immediately called the Premier and informed him of this fact. I also told the Premier: "BABA should immediately be made a member. If Viscount AOKI refuses, BABA should at least be made a member and a chairman be selected later. I believe that BABA should be included.

"Home Affairs Minister GOTO should be sent as a messenger in the case of SAKAI and to learn the situation at the Kenkyukai. It would be well to speak to SAKAI of the intentions of the Cabinet."

Following this, I spoke with the Home Affairs Minister on the matters which I had spoken to the Premier about and the Home Affairs Minister was of the same opinion as myself. I ended the call by asking that he consult with the Premier fully on this matter.